

AGENDA FOR CONFERENCE:

"U. S. STRATEGY IN ASIA"

Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C.
September 24-25, 1970
(All sessions held at the Institute)

Thursday, September 24

10:00 - 12:30 Focus: The Broader Questions

Opening Remarks (Earl C. Ravenal, Chairman)
 Agenda, schedule, procedures
 Purpose of the conference
 Contributions of participants

Framework and Introduction (Earl C. Ravenal)
 The overall problem and alternatives
 Elements in the Nixon Doctrine

Remarks: Disengagement from Asia (Leslie H. Gelb)
 Meaning of disengagement in practical terms
 Rhetoric and reality
 Issues and consequences

Discussion: Implications of Disengagement for Japan and Other
 Asian Countries (Morton H. Halperin)
 Re-armament - conventional, nuclear
 Relations with China
 Relations with United States

 Lessons of Vietnam (Daniel Ellsberg)

 Implications of the Nixon Doctrine (John W. Dower)

General Discussion

2:30 - 5:00 Focus: The Technical Questions

Opening Remarks

Remarks: Military Assistance in the New Context (Leon Sloss)
 Justifications from trade-off, comparative advantage
 Legislative treatment
 Projected patterns

General Discussion

Paper: Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Asia (Stanley M. Kanarowski)
Applications and doctrine
Framework for discussion and calculations
in official debate
Trade-off against conventional weapons - effectiveness
Risks of escalation, retaliation
Propensities of Nixon administration

Discussion: The Odds and the Evidence for the Use of Nuclear Weapons
(Richard J. Barnet)

? Nuclear Scenarios and Precedents (Daniel Ellsberg)

General Discussion

Paper: New Defense Planning and Budgeting Procedures (Pierre M. Sprey)
"Fiscal Guidance"
Consequences for strategic planning, weapons
system selection

Discussion: Critique of the Defense Budget and Strategies (Leonard Rodberg)
Budget levels and capabilities
Strategies achievable
Alternatives - a non-intervention policy

The Impact of Defense Procurement on Strategy and Foreign Policy
(Richard F. Kaufman)

The 1-1/2 War Strategy (Andrew Hamilton)
Its derivation
Relation of strategies to budgets

General Discussion

5:00 - 6:30

Reception

10:00 - 12:30 Focus: Policy Determinants and Alternatives

Paper: The Emerging Economic Character of America's Asian Antagonists
(Terence McCarthy)
Objective consequences of past and present U. S. policies
Foundations for future policy decisions

Paper: Economic Consequences of U. S. Disengagement (Seymour Melman)
Industries, sectors
Precedents

Paper: Bureaucratic Determinants of U. S. Policy in Asia (Richard J. Barnet)
How the national security bureaucracy looks at Asia
Changes and continuities in this administration
Critique of the peace-keeping mission

Remarks: "Never Again" - What Does It Mean? (Richard A. Falk)
Divergent interpretations
Consequences for future U. S. policy

Practical Consequences of Alternative Policies (Charles P. Shirkey)

- Budgets and the timing of decisions
- The transition--risks and confidence levels
- Some unanswered questions

Rev. 9-16

Opening Remarks

Another View of China's Evolution (Morton H. Halperin)

Remarks: The China Problem

The Republic of China (Thomas Shoesmith)
Structure of the problem
Prospects

Paper: Ending the Permanent Confrontation with China (Franz Schurmann)
American choices in Asia

Concluding Remarks (Earl C. Ravenal)
Review of the Structure of the Problem and Probable Courses

Institute for Policy Studies

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PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE:

"U. S. STRATEGY IN ASIA"

<u>Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
Richard J. Barnet	Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies
John W. Dower	University of Nebraska; Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars
Daniel Ellsberg	MIT Center for International Studies
Richard A. Falk	Professor, Princeton University Center of International Studies
Leslie H. Gelb	Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
Morton H. Halperin	Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
Andrew Hamilton	Member, National Security Council Staff
Michael Hudson	Economics Department, New School for Social Research
Alfred leS. Jenkins	Director, Asian Communist Affairs, Department of State
Stanley M. Kanarowski	Major, U. S. Army, Combat Development Command
Richard F. Kaufman	Staff Economist and Counsel, Joint Economic Committee of the U. S. Congress
Terence McCarthy	Consulting Economist
Seymour Melman	Professor, Columbia University
Robert E. Osgood	Acting Dean, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies
Marcus G. Raskin	Co-Director, Institute for Policy Studies
Earl C. Ravenal	Associate Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies

Leonard Rodberg	Visiting Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies
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Charles P. Shirkey	Research Associate, Brookings Institution
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